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A study of the educational status orientations of tenth grade Mexican-American and Anglo boys in economically depressed areas of Texas found that the 2 groups had similarly high educational goals. Detailed analysis of data revealed that Anglo boys had a tendency to express more frequently high educational goals as compared to their Mexican-American counterparts. However, more Anglo boys expressed a desire to quit school while more Mexican-American youth expressed a desire to do graduate work. Intensity of aspiration was slightly higher for the Mexican-American sample, as compared to the Anglo group. Anglo youth clearly had higher educational expectations than the Mexican-American youth studied, and were slightly more certain of realizing their anticipated statuses. It was suggested that colleges and universities reevaluate entrance requirements to include consideration of student desire to pursue a college education. A related document is RC 002 587. (DA)

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ETHNIC GROUP IDENTITY AND ORIENTATIONS TOWARD EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT: A COMPARISON OF MEXICAN AMERICAN AND ANGLO BOYS*

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to present the findings obtained from a comparative analysis of educational status orientations held by Mexican American and Anglo boys living in economically depressed areas of Texas and furthermore to ascertain the significance of these findings for relevant theory and accumulated research knowledge.[1]

Mexican Americans are the largest ethnic minority in Texas and in the Southwest region.[2] They had the largest population increase of any ethnic group between 1950 and 1960,[3] a disproportionately high poverty ratio[4] and low objectively determined levels of occupational and educational achievement.[5] Considering the dramatically low position of the Mexican American in any objectively determined model of the stratification hierarchy in our society, it is surprising, given our belief in equal opportunity and our humanistic concerns for underprivileged people, that little scientific research exists on Mexican Americans and, especially, youth. An attempt to thoroughly review existing bibliographic materials on the Mexican American indicates that most of the literature is either out-dated or is non-empirical.[6] This situation both reflects and contributes to the lack of recognition and understanding of the many social problems faced by this large ethnic segment of our population. We believe that much of the re-

sponsibility for this situation rests on the shoulders of social scientists located in our region. We do not pretend a value-neutral stance in selecting our problem of investigation, even though, as will be shown, it has scientific significance. We are concerned about the plight of the Mexican American people.

We feel that this analysis has several dimensions of significance. First, very little systematic, factual information exists on the orientations Mexican American youth have toward educational mobility and how these compare to those of comparable Anglo youth. What little evidence does exist is fragmental and characterized by a lack of conceptual and methodological precision.[7]

There are several general theoretical frameworks that provide contradictory propositions in regard to what might be expected to exist in the way of differences between Mexican American and Anglo youth in reference to educational orientations. What is more, absolutely no past research could be located in reference to Mexican American-Anglo differences on anticipatory deflection, intensity of aspiration, or certainty of expectation. Finally, it is our hope that the findings and their implications can provide useful information to guide educational and governmental policy aimed at improving the general socioeconomic conditions of the Mexican American minority as well as those of the low-income Anglos.

FRAMEWORK FOR STUDY

The proposition that adolescents formulate personal status goals that facilitate anticipatory socialization into future adult statuses provides the basis for the paradigm to be outlined below. Ralph Turner has presented firm empirical documentation for this thesis in his recent book, The Social Context of Ambition.[8] The recently developed multi-dimensional paradigm constructed by Kuvlesky and Bealer for a comprehensive study of status orientations provides the major variables that are used in our analysis and is briefly outlined below.[9]

Two major analytical distinctions are involved in the Kuvlesky and Bealer scheme. The first of these involves a distinction between two types of status orientations based on the nature of the individual's orientation toward attainment in a particular status area. This distinction refers to what is commonly called aspiration and expectation. Aspiration refers to the desire of the individual for attainment of a particular status (goal). Expectation is utilized to indicate anticipation of attaining a particular status, whether or not it is desired. Past research has clearly demonstrated the utility of differentiating between these two ideas in reference to both occupational and educational orientations. What is more, past research has demonstrated that persons' goals and anticipated status attainments, in reference to a given status area, may be identical or may diverge. This potential divergence or lack of congruity between the two status objects is labeled anticipatory goal deflection.[10]

Another element of orientation involves what Kuvlesky and Bealer have labeled the orientation element.[11] This idea refers to the strength or intensity of the person's orientation toward the status object involved in either aspirations or expectations. In reference to aspiration this would be the strength of desire associated with obtaining the status goal specified and is referred to as intensity of aspiration. The comparable element involved in expectation is conceptualized as the certainty with which the individual anticipates attainment of a particular specified status.

Utilizing this scheme, the analysis will attempt to ascertain what relationships exist between Mexican American and Anglo boys on the following dimensions of educational status orientations:

A. Aspirations
   1. Goal
   2. Intensity

B. Expectations
   1. Anticipated Status
   2. Certainty

C. Anticipatory Goal Deflection
   1. Rate of Occurrence and Nature of Deflection
   2. Degree of Deflection

Before moving on to discuss methods and findings involved in our investigation, we would like to present a brief review of the theoretical literature pertinent to our problem.

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

From a theoretical perspective, there are several theses that tend to produce contradictory inferences in terms of expected differences

in the educational status orientations held by Mexican American and Anglo youth. The first and more general of these involves Parsons' scheme of the pattern variables as they apply to cultural value orientations. More specifically, our concern is with the two dichotomous value choices of Universalism vs. Particularism and Ascription vs. Achievement. Parsons states that the Universalistic-Achievement combination and the Particularistic-Ascriptive combination occur in the abstract value system of cultures and present one mode of meaningful differentiation of two major types of social structures.[12] Of special significance to us is Parsons' assertion that the Spanish-American subculture constitutes an example of the Particularistic-Ascriptive pattern.[13] This notion has been empirically evaluated by Zurcher, et al., and Frand Nall.[14] In essence, their findings appear to contradict Parsons' proposition that Spanish Americans in the United States (or at least Mexican Americans) maintain a subculture characteristic of the Particularistic-Ascriptive type.

Another theoretical perspective, at a lower level of abstraction and very directly related to our particular research problem, can be obtained from Robert Merton's theory of social structure and anomie. Merton proposes that inculcation of high success goals of various kinds constitutes a patterned characteristic that cuts across subcultural differentiation in our society.[15] The bulk of extensive past research on status aspirations offers support for this contention.[16] While most of this research indicates that significant dif-

ferences in level of status aspirations exist between significantly differentiated segments of the society, the same data appears to offer strong evidence that all types of youth generally maintain high goals.

In summary then, Parsons' framework would tend to predict significant differences in the educational status orientations of the two ethnic categories, but research testing theoretical assumptions involved in this inference does not support them. Merton's thesis directly contradicts the inferences drawn from Parsons' more abstract proposition. However, empirical evidence exists which offers support to Merton's proposition. From this, it can be expected that Mexican American youth maintain goal levels similar to those of Anglo youth from comparable areas. However, past research and theory give little direction for predicting how educational goals between the two ethnic groups may differ specifically and how they might compare on the other elements of status orientation discussed previously.

METHOD

Source and Collection of Data

Data for this analysis were obtained from two study areas. Information on the Anglo portion of the respondents was obtained in the spring of 1966 from 143 male high school sophomores attending school in three all-rural East Central Texas counties, Table 1.

Table 1. Selected Indicators of Socio-Economic Conditions in the South Texas (Mexican American) and East Central Texas (Anglo) Study Counties Compared with Texas and the United States.

Place	Total Population (Thousands)	Anglo (Percent)	Mexican Americans (Percent)	Low-Income Families[A] (Percent)	Median Family Income	Median School Yrs. Comp.[B]
A. **South Texas**						
Dimmit	10	*	67	60	$2,480	5
Maverick	15	*	78	58	2,523	6
Starr	17	*	89	71	1,700	5
Zapata	4	*	75	66	1,766	5
B. **East Texas**						
Burleson	11	62	**	59	2,451	8
Leon	10	61	**	67	1,946	9
San Jacinto	6	47	**	69	1,737	7
Texas	9,580	73	14	29	4,884	10
United States	179,323	87	2	21	5,657	11

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 1, United States Summary and Part 45, Texas (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964) and U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname, Final Report PC (2) - 1B.

[A] Annual incomes below $3,000.

[B] By persons 25 years old and over.

* Almost all individuals not classified as Mexican American would be classified Anglo.

** Percent Mexican American is less than one-tenth of one percent. Most individuals not classified as Anglo would be classified as Negro.

Comparable data were gathered during the spring of 1967 from 290 Mexican American boys (high school sophomores) in four predominantly rural, nonmetropolitan counties in South Texas--bordering on or in close proximity to Mexico.

The counties in the two study areas were purposively selected to provide relatively homogeneous units in terms of three criteria: (1) rural, nonmetropolitan areas; (2) high frequency of family poverty; and (3) proportionately high concentration of ethnic minorities--Negroes in East Central Texas and Mexican Americans in South Texas, Table 1.[17]

The nature of the schools in the two study areas is deserving of brief consideration. In the East Central Texas study area respondents came from 23 different high schools of which only one had experienced more than token integration. The size of the sophomore classes in these schools ranged from five to seventy students. In the South Texas study area seven schools were involved and these ranged in size of sophomore classes from 26 to 261 students. Of these seven schools, one was made up entirely of Mexican American youth. For both study areas, guidance counseling and occupational or job counseling (in the usual sense of the word) either did not exist or was minimal in most of the schools.

Data were collected through the use of collectively-administered questionnaires in both studies. The students in the South Texas study area received a 12-page questionnaire as compared with an 18-page one that was used in the earlier East Central Texas study. However, the

stimulus questions used to provide indicators for educational orientations were almost identical. The respondents completed each stimulus question as it was read aloud by a trained interviewer. The interview time ranged from 35 to 70 minutes.

Indicators and Measurements

Several questions were used as basic indicators for the various educational orientation elements previously specified. The exact instruments utilized in both studies are included in the Appendix. We will briefly describe the nature of the instruments and modes of measurement used to obtain responses for each of the elements of status orientation we are concerned with in this analysis.

Educational Aspirations and Expectations.

Similarly worded fixed-choice stimulus questions were used in both studies to elicit responses indicating the educational loal and expected attainment of the respondent. Each of these questions was followed by a list of structured alternatives ranging in a hierarchy from "quit school" through "complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university." The stimulus question used to procure goal responses asked the student to indicate the education he would desire if he was completely free to choose. The question used for expectation asked the student to indicate the education he really expected to attain. The responses to both questions were coded in accordance with the six-level educational hierarchy (plus no information) shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Educational Goals and Expectations of Mexican American and Anglo Boys.

Educational Status	Goals[1]		Expectations[2]	
	MA (290)	Anglo (143)	MA (290)	Anglo (143)
	----------Percent----------			
1. Quit High School	0	4	0	4
2. High School Graduate	19	10	31	16
3. High School Grad. and Voc. Trng.	19	18	19	24
4. Junior College Graduate	8	9	11	7
5. College or University Graduate	32	42	30	42
6. Complete Graduate Study	21	17	9	7
No Information	1	0	0	0
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

[1] $X^2 = 17.22$, D.F. = 5, $P > .001 < .01$

[2] $X^2 = 22.39$, D.F. = 5 $P < .001$

Anticipatory Goal Deflection

Anticipatory deflection was determined by comparing the measures of educational goal and educational expectation. If these measures differed, deflection was considered to exist. Negative deflection was judged to exist if the expectation level was lower than the goal level; conversely, positive deflection was indicated when the expectation level was observed to be higher than the aspiration level. In addition to determining the nature of deflection, the "degree" of deflection was determined by the number of level differences involved between goal and anticipated status.

Intensity and Certainty of Orientation

Intensity of aspiration was indicated by a question that asked the respondent to rank order seven status goals believed to be desired by most young people. The educational goal was included among the alternatives. This operation produced a self-ranked hierarchy of importance ranging from scores of one through seven. The lower the score, the stronger the intensity of aspiration indicated. The raw scores were grouped into three qualitative categories as follow: strong (1-2), intermediate (3-5), and weak (6-7). The question providing an indicator of certainty of expectation utilized in both studies asked the respondents to indicate how sure or certain they were of achieving their expected education. This was a forced-choice instrument using a Likert-type scale. In the ST study the instrument provided the following alternatives: very certain, certain, not

very certain, uncertain, and very uncertain. A similar stimulus question was used in the East Central Texas study. The only difference was that the structured alternatives provided were: very sure, sure, not very sure, uncertain, and very uncertain. We assumed that, although the wording differed, the meaning of the two sets of categories were comparable.

FINDINGS

Our findings of the comparative analysis of educational orientations will be structured into three major sections based on the key analytical differentiations mentioned previously in the conceptual framework. These are: status elements (goals and expected attainment), orientation elements (intensity of aspiration and certainty of expectation), and anticipatory goal deflection.

Status Elements of Aspiration and Expectation

Goals

Although differences in the goal profiles of Mexican American and Anglo boys were observed to be statistically significant, the general nature of the distribution of respondents over the various goal alternatives resulted in similar configurations, Table 2. The aggregate goal profiles of the two groupings were similar in the following ways:

1. Very few or none of either grouping intended to quit high school.

2. Roughly the same proportion of both ethnic groupings desired to attain additional vocational training upon completion of high school (roughly one-fifth) and similar proportions desired to graduate from a junior college (slightly less than one-tenth).

3. The highest single proportion of both groupings desiring a particular goal level were found to want a degree from a four-year college or university.

4. A similarly high proportion of both groupings (about one-fifth) desired to receive graduate degrees.

The principle differences between the two ethnic groupings involved only two attainment levels: "High school graduate" and "College or University graduate." Twice as many Mexican American youth desired to terminate formal education with high school graduation as compared with their Anglo counterparts. However, this difference was off-set to some extent by the fact that four percent of the Anglo boys as compared with none of the Mexican Americans wanted to drop out of high school before graduation. The only other major difference was that noticeably more of the Anglo youth than Mexican American wanted to graduate from a four-year college (42 percent as compared with 32 percent, respectively). Again, however, this particular categorical difference was partially off-set by the surprising finding that noticeably more of the Mexican American youth desired graduate degrees.

In summary, it can be said that the educational goal levels of both groups were similarly high, particularly when the socio-economic background of both study populations are taken into consideration. This point was made clearer when the original six educational attain-

ment categories were collapsed into three more inclusive status level classes, Table 3. From this operation it can be clearly seen that only a small minority of either ethnic grouping desired to terminate formal education at or before high school graduation, while more than half of both groupings desired at least a degree from a four-year college or university. Even though the similarity in the goal profiles of both ethnic groups were strikingly similar, it should be noted that the level differences at the extreme ends of the attainment hierarchy demonstrated a slight tendency for Anglos to more frequently have high level educational orientations and Mexican American youth to have low level aspirations.

Expected Status

The ethnic groupings' profiles of anticipated status attainment diverged to a greater extent than was observed in reference to goals--a comparison of the respective chi-square values presented with Table 2 clearly indicate this. In reference to some particular expectation categories, the ethnic profiles remained very similar to what has already been observed for goals: the largest proportion of both groupings expected a college or university degree, very few anticipated quitting school before high school graduation, roughly a fifth of the Mexican Americans and a quarter of the Anglos anticipated vocational training after leaving high school, and about half this number expected to graduate from a junior college.

Table 3. Levels of Educational Status Projections Held by Mexican American and Anglo Boys.

Educational Level	Goals		Expectations	
	MA (290)	Anglo (143)	MA (290)	Anglo (143)
	----------Percent----------			
(1) Low (HS or Less)	19	14	31	20
(2) Intermediate (HS Plus)	27	27	30	31
(3) High (Col. Grad.)	53	59	39	49
No Information	1	0	0	0
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Major differences in the expectation profiles as compared with goals appear to stem from a marked decrease for both groupings in the proportion expecting graduate degrees. A little less than one-tenth of either grouping expected this level of education; however, it is interesting to note that as was the case for goals, a slightly larger proportion of Mexican Americans expected to attain graduate degrees. Again, as was noted for goals, the major categorical differences in educational expectations centered on graduation from a four-year college and from high school. The proportional differences between the two groupings, in reference to graduation from college, remained about the same as was observed previously. However, the ethnic differences increased markedly in reference to the high school graduate category: almost one-third of the Mexican Americans expected to terminate their education at this level as compared with half as many Anglos.

The greater divergence of the two ethnic groups on expectations as compared with goals was amplified when the six original expectation categories were combined into the three more inclusive status level categories, Table 2. At each of the three status levels the Mexican American-Anglo differences were greater for expectations than was the case for goals, with the greatest increase in divergence occurring at the low status level. In general it can be stated that Anglo youth clearly tended to have higher level educational expectations than their Mexican American counterparts. Furthermore, it is obvious that the two ethnic groups diverged to a greater extent in reference to

expectations than they did on goals. However, it is necessary to emphasize that the Mexican American boys still generally expected relatively high levels of educational attainment: more than two-thirds anticipated some kind of formal education beyond high school and, what is more, about forty percent expected to at least graduate from a four-year college.

Orientation Element

Intensity of aspiration

Although we have observed that Mexican American and Anglo youth did not differ markedly in reference to the status goal level element of aspirations, a rather marked difference was noted on the strength of desire associated with their goals. As can be seen from an inspection of Table 4, Mexican American youth clearly tended to have a stronger intensity of desire for their goals than Anglo boys. Twice as many Anglo boys as compared with the other ethnic type demonstrated both intermediate and weak levels of intensity of aspiration. On the other hand, the observation that a vast majority of both ethnic types maintained strong desires for their educational goals is equally important.

Certainty of expectation

While rather marked differences were observed between the two ethnic types in reference to the status element of expectations, a comparison of degree of certainty associated with the anticipated

Table 4. Strength of Educational Aspirations Held by Mexican American and Anglo Boys.

Intensity	Males	
	MA (290)	Anglo (143)
	--------Percent-------	
Strong	84	69
Intermediate	10	20
Weak	5	11
No Information	1	0
TOTAL	100	100

$X^2 = 14.90$ D.F. = 2 $P < .001$

attainment did not produce differences that can be judged significant statistically, Table 5. About half of the Mexican Americans and two-thirds of the Anglo boys felt either certain or very certain about the education they expected to get and relatively few of either grouping felt uncertain. The most noteworthy categorical difference existed in reference to the intermediate level, not very certain, where a larger percentage of Mexican Americans (45 percent) as compared with Anglo youth (32 percent) were clustered. The findings do suggest that Anglo youth may feel slightly more certain about achieving the education they anticipated.

Anticipatory Goal Deflection

As might be anticipated from the aggregate goal and expectation comparisons remarked on earlier, a case by case determination of anticipatory goal deflection reveals a marked difference in the frequency with which this phenomenon occurred among the Mexican American and Anglo respondents, Table 6. Even though a clear majority of both ethnic groupings did not experience deflection, a substantially higher proportion of the Mexican Americans demonstrated both positive and negative deflection. When goal deflection was observed, it was predominantly negative for both ethnic groups: meaning that the anticipated educational attainment was at least one level below that which was desired. Approximately one out of ten Mexican American youth experienced positive goal deflection as compared with half as many Anglo boys, Table 7. Similarly, almost one-third of the Mexican

Table 5. Certainty of Educational Expectations Held by Mexican American and Anglo Boys.

Degree of Certainty	Males	
	MA (290)	Anglo (143)
	--------Percent-------	
Very Certain	10	16
Certain	39	46
Not Very Certain	45	32
Uncertain	5	6
No Information	1	0
TOTAL	100	100

$X^2 = 7.74$ D.F. = 3 $P > .05 < .10$

Table 6. Anticipatory Goal Deflection Experienced by Mexican American and Anglo Boys.

Nature of Deflection	Males	
	MA (290)	Anglo (143)
	---------Percent------	
None	59	73
Positive	9	4
Negative	31	23
No Information	1	0
TOTAL	100	100

$X^2 = 8.25$ D.F. = 2 $P > .01 < .02$

Table 7. Degree of Positive and Negative Anticipatory Goal Deflection Experienced by Mexican American and Anglo Boys.

Degree of Deflection	Nature of Deflection			
	+		-	
	MA (290)	Anglo (143)	MA (290)	Anglo (143)
	--------Percent of Total Respondents--------			
1	6	3	16	12
2	2	1	6	4
3	1	0	4	6
4	0	0	5	1
5	0	0	0	0

American boys demonstrated negative deflection from their specified goals as compared with less than a fourth of their Anglo counterparts. The substantially greater rate of anticipatory deflection experienced by the Mexican American is of particular significance when it is considered in conjunction with the observation that they generally demonstrated a higher level of intensity of desire for their goals than the Anglo youth. One could infer from this that deflection, particularly negative deflection, would be of greater consequence for the Mexican American, generally speaking.

An examination of the degree of positive and negative deflection experienced by the two ethnic types clearly demonstrated that most respondents were deflected to educational expectations either one level higher or lower than their goal. There were no marked ethnic differences in the degree of goal deflection experienced.

CONCLUSIONS

Generally speaking, it can be concluded that Mexican American and Anglo boys were relatively similar in that a majority of both held high educational goals. However, when considered at a lower order of abstraction, some important differences were noted; mainly, that Anglos had a slight tendency to more frequently have high educational goals while Mexican Americans had a tendency for low-level aspirations. This was somewhat off-set when it was considered that more Anglos desired to quit school and more Mexican Americans desired to do graduate studies. Intensity of aspiration, although relatively

strong for a majority of both ethnic types, was generally stronger for Mexican Americans.

Greater differences were noted between anticipated statuses of Mexican American and Anglo boys than were noted for educational goals. However, similar profiles of aspiration and expectation educational levels were found between the two ethnic types. In general, the Anglo youth clearly had higher educational expectations than their Mexican American counterparts. Nevertheless, as was also the case for goals, this generalization was partially off-set by more Anglos expecting to quit school and slightly more Mexican Americans expecting to do graduate studies. Unlike the findings on intensity of desires for their goals, the Anglo boys were slightly more certain of their anticipated statuses than the Mexican American.

In spite of the findings that Mexican Americans had stronger intensities of aspirations than the Anglos, the Mexican American boys experienced more anticipatory deflection. Deflection for both ethnic types was primarily negative and within one degree negative or positive.

IMPLICATIONS

Relation to Past Research

Obviously, any generalizations derived from our findings are necessarily limited by the nature of the population involved in our studies: predominantly rural individuals from economically depressed

areas of Texas. One possibility for attempting to draw out the broader significance of these results is to examine the manner in which they relate to the findings of comparable past studies. Unfortunately, there are only three known studies of educational orientations of Mexican American youth and only one of these is useful for purposes of comparison. This is a study of Celia Heller's that involved Mexican American and Anglo respondents who were high school seniors in Los Angeles during 1955. This study was limited to an examination of the expected status component of educational orientations. A detailed comparison of the sets of data from our study and Heller's demonstrated one important commonality: that Mexican American and Anglo boys were similar in not anticipating low-level educational attainment. On the other hand, a major differences existed between the two studies in that a majority of youth in Heller's study, from both ethnic groups, anticipated intermediate levels of education as compared with less than one-third of both ethnic groups involved in our study. A differenc of particular importance in the findings of the two studies is that a much larger proportion of both ethnic types in our study held high-level expectations.

Several possible explanations exist for the rather marked differences in the two studies noted above. First of all, our study was concerned with predominantly rural-nonmetropolitan youth, whereas, Heller's involved youth from a major metropolitan area. The fact that youth in our study indicated higher level anticipated educational

attainment appears to offer evidence that this explanation is probably not correct: almost all past research involving rural-urban comparisons of youth on educational orientations has demonstrated that rural youth have lower levels than urban youth. Two other differences in the study populations offer lines of explanation for the differences in the educational expectations observed: (1) that educational expectations of youth of both types have increased over the span of time from 1955 to the present; (2) that older youth (seniors in Heller's study) have lower level educational expectations than younger youth (sophomores in our study). There are theoretical bases for assuming that the second of the above hypotheses is deserving of future research.

Theoretical Implications

The results of our analysis clearly bring into question the inference that Mexican American youth have lower educational orientations than comparable Anglo youth: this inference was derived from Parsons' assertion that the Spanish-American subculture is characterized by a Particularistic-Ascriptive value configuration. While our data does not provide a direct test of Parsons' proposition, it certainly brings into question the particular inference pertaining to ethnic differences in educational orientations. Mexican Americans held high-level educational goals similar to that of Anglo youth, and what is more, the Mexican American respondents generally demonstrated a stronger intensity of desire for their educational goal than did the Anglo boys.

While challenging the validity of Parsons' assertion, our results provide support for Merton's contention regarding more or less universal patterning inculcation of high success goals among all segments of our population in reference to Mexican American young people. Similarly, our findings appear to support Stephenson's views that expectations are more variable than aspirations.[18]

Policy Implications

Our results demonstrate that rural youth, Mexican American or Anglo do not in general suffer from low aspirations or expectations for educational attainment. Consequently, it seems fair to propose that any disadvantage they suffer is due to lack of opportunity to realize their goals and expectations and not due to lack of motivation or interest. The Mexican American youth probably suffer more in this respect than the Anglo because of greater language problems and social discrimination based on ethnic prejudice.

The large proportion of Mexican American and Anglo boys who expected to terminate their education with high school graduation might be a cue for junior colleges and vocational training schools to implement recruiting programs among rural youth.

Four-year colleges and universities might consider lowering entrance requirements for youth who have strong desires for college, but due to inferior preparatory education are not able to meet the present entrance standards. This is not to suggest lowering the

highly valued standards of "academic excellence," but to provide opportunities for social and economic advancement.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Information for this paper was extracted from two larger studies done in South and East Central Texas counties. The studies are sponsored by Southern Regional Projects 3-61 and H-2611, respectively, under the auspices of the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station and the Cooperative State Research Service of the United States Department of Agriculture. The general objective of the overall project is to determine the characteristics of and factors involved in the developmental sequences and decision-making processes of people in the rural South during selected stages of the life cycle. For a more complete description of this study see Rumaldo Z. Juarez, "Educational Status Orientations of Mexican American and Anglo American Youth In Selected Low-Income Counties of Texas (unpublished Master of Science, thesis, Texas A&M University, August, 1968).

[2]The term Mexican American as used in this study refers to persons who are of Mexican or Spanish ancestry. Such diverse terms as Spanish-speaking Americans, Spanish-Americans, Mexicans, La Raza, Chicanos, Mexicanos, etc. are often used interchangeably to identify this ethnic category in the Southwest. Whenever the terms Anglo and Negro are used, they refer to Anglo American and Negro American, respectively. The categorical distinctions are used to represent sociologically meaningful categories and refer to the population of Texas and the United States. U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963). Tables 14 and 65; and U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname, Final Report PC (2) - 1B (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963). Tables 1 and 5.

[3]Herschel T. Manuel, Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest: Their Education and the Public Welfare (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), Table 5, p. 22.

[4]U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas, Tables 14, 50, and 65; and U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname, Final Report PC (2) - 1B, Tables 3 and 5. Also, W. Kennedy Upham and Michael E. Lever,

Differentials in the Incidence of Poverty in Texas, Departmental Information Report 66-9 (College Station: Texas A&M University, December, 1965), Table 13, p. 13.

[5]U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas, Tables 47 and 122; and U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname, Final Report PC (2) - 1B, Tables 3 and 6; and Robert L. Skrabanek, Supplement to A Decade of Population Change in Texas, S-1000, (September, 1963), revised (July, 1964).

[6]For evidence see Mexican American Study Project, Bibliography, Advance Report No. 3, Division of Research Graduate School of Business Administration (Los Angeles: University of California, February, 1966). Also see Steve Allen, The Ground is Our Table (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1966); Arthur Rubel, Across The Tracks: Mexican-Americans in a Texas City (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966); Celia S. Heller, Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads (New York: Random House, 1966); Irene Guerra, "The Social Aspirations of a Selected Group of Spanish-Name People in Laredo, Texas," (unpublished Thesis, University of Texas, January, 1959), and Jack O'Brien Waddel, "Value Orientations of Young Mexican American Males as Reflected in Their Work Patterns and Employment Preferences" (unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Texas, June 2, 1962).

[7]Only three known studies on the educational status orientations of Mexican American youth could be located. Of these three, two suffer from conceptual and methodological inadequacies to an extent that they were relatively useless for purposes of comparison; consequently, these studies were not considered in detail in this paper's efforts. The only report of findings deemed useful in ascertaining significant implications about educational orientations of Mexican American youth is by Celia S. Heller, "Ambitions of Mexican-American Youth: Goals and Means of Mobility of High School Seniors" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1963). The two other studies are Arturo DeHoyos, "Occupational and Educational Levels of Mexican-American Youth" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1961); and Herschel T. Manuel, op. cit., pp. 106-108.

[8]Ralph H. Turner, The Social Context of Ambition (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1964).

[9] Most past research on status orientations of youth have focused on either goal levels or expectation levels of individuals. Much of the existing published literature demonstrates lack of conceptual clarity in organizing these ideas and delineating the analytical dimensions of which they are composed. Recently, Kuvlesky and Bealer have attempted to introduce some conceptual precision into this area of investigation. Their original ideas have been expanded, modified, and empirically evaluated into a number of specific analyses involving status orientations of youth toward occupation, education, income, and place of residence. See William P. Kuvlesky and Robert C. Bealer, "A Clarification of the Concept 'Occupational Choice'," Rural Sociology, 31 (September, 1966), pp. 265-276; George W. Ohlendorf, "Educational Orientations of Rural Youth in Selected Low-Income Counties of Texas" (unpublished Master of Science Thesis, Texas A&M University, May 1967); and William P. Kuvlesky and George W. Ohlendorf, "Rural Urban Comparison of Occupational Orientations of Negro Boys," Rural Sociology (Forthcoming-June, 1968).

[10] Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientations and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, 22 (April, 1957), p. 205. Also, William P. Kuvlesky and John Pelham, Occupational Status Orientations of Rural Youth: Structured Annotations and Evaluations of the Research Literature, Departmental Information Report 66-3 (College Station: Texas A&M University, September, 1966). Also William P. Kuvlesky and George W. Ohlendorf, A Bibliography of Literature on Status Projections of Youth: I, Occupational Aspirations and Expectations, Departmental Information Report 67-10 (College Station: Texas A&M University, September 1967); George W. Ohlendorf, Sherry Wages, and William P. Kuvlesky, A Bibliography of Literature on Status Projections of Youth: II, Educational Aspirations and Expectations, Departmental Information Report 67-11 (College Station: Texas A&M University, September 1967); and William P. Kuvlesky and George W. Ohlendorf, A Bibliography of Literature on Status Projections of Youth: III, Residence, Income, and Family Orientations, Departmental Information Report 67-12 (College Station: Texas A&M University, September, 1967).

[11] This aspect was first suggested conceptually by Merton and empirically evaluated by Leonard Reissman. See Leonard Reissman, "Levels of Aspiration and Social Class," American Sociological Review, 18 (June, 1953), pp. 233-242; and Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, enl. and rev. ed. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951), p. 171.

[12] In the Universalistic-Achievement type, people hold a very high valuation for a pluralistic and/or individualistic system of goal achievement through instrumental action. In contrast, the Particularistic-Ascriptive type places a high value on expressive interests and is

much less concerned with opportunity to shape situations through achievement. See Talcott Parsons, The Social System (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951), pp. 180-200.

[13] Ibid., p. 199. It is important to note that Parsons does not clarify what is meant by "Spanish-Americans." It may be that he is referring to Spanish people from the South American continent, people of Spanish surname living in the United States, or both.

[14] Louis A. Zurcher Jr., Susan Lee Zurcher, and Arnold Meadow, "Value Orientation, Role Conflict, and Alienation From Work: A Cross-cultural Study," American Sociological Review, 30 (August, 1965), pp. 28-41.

[15] Merton, op. cit., pp. 132-133.

[16] George W. Ohlendorf, "Educational Orientations of Rural Youth In Selected Low-Income Counties of Texas" (Unpublished Master of Science thesis, Texas A&M University, May, 1967), p. 87. Angelita S. Obordo "Status Orientations Toward Family Development: A Racial Comparison of Adolescent Girls From Low-Income Rural Areas" (unpublished Master of Science thesis, Texas A&M University, January, 1968), p. 76; and Bilquis A. Ameen, "Occupational Status Orientations and Perception of Opportunity: A Racial Comparison of Rural Youth From Depressed Areas" (unpublished Master of Science thesis, Texas A&M University, October, 1967), p. 75.

[17] Consequently, the two study areas are very similar in these respects. However, the two study populations do differ generally in several important ways: the adult population of the East Central Texas area has a substantially higher level of educational attainment; the South Texas study area includes several small urban places over 2,500 population ranging up to 12,000 as compared with none as large as 2,500 in the East Central Texas area; and, obviously, the South Texas population consists of a very large proportion of Mexican Americans, whereas the East Central Texas area is composed of a majority of Anglos and large proportions of Negroes.

[18] Stephenson, op. cit.

APPENDIX

EXCERPTS FROM RESEARCH INSTRUMENT USED IN THE SOUTH TEXAS STUDY

2. Sex (Circle one number): 1 Male 2 Female

***

5. What is your race? (Circle one number):

1 White 2 Negro 3 Oriental 4 Indian 5 Other

***

13. If you could have as much schooling as you <u>desired</u>, which of the following would you do? (Circle only one number):

1 Quit school right now.
2 Complete high school.
3 Complete a business, commercial, electronics, or some other technical program after finishing high school.
4 Graduate from a junior college (2years).
5 Graduate from a college or university.
6 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

***

14. (a) What do you <u>really</u> expect to do about your education? (Circle only one number):

1 Quit school right now.
2 Complete high school.
3 Complete a business, commercial, electronics, or some other technical program after finishing high school.
4 Graduate from a junior college (2 years).
5 Graduate from a college or university.
6 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

(b) How certain are you that you will really achieve the education <u>you expect</u>?

I am: (Circle one number.)

1	2	3	4	5
Very Certain	Certain	Not very Certain	Uncertain	Very Uncertain

***

27. Listed below are a number of things that most young people look forward to. Rank them in order of their importance to you. For the one you think is most important put a number 1 in front of it; for the next most important one put in a number 2; and so on until you have a different number (from 1 to 7) for each one. Read over the entire list before answering the question.

_____ To have lots of free time to do what I want.

_____ To get all the education I want.

_____ To earn as much money as I can.

_____ To get the job I want most.

_____ To live in the kind of place I like best.

_____ To have the kind of house, car, furniture, and other things like this I want.

_____ To get married and raise a family.

CHECK YOUR ANSWERS! You should have used each number from 1 to 7 only one time and you should have a number in each blank space.

***

28. Are you of Spanish-American ancestry? (Circle one number.)

1 Yes 2 No

EXCERPTS FROM RESEARCH INSTRUMENT
USED IN THE EAST CENTRAL TEXAS STUDY

***

2. Are you male or female? (Circle one number.)

1 Male 2 Female

***

6. What is your race? (Circle one number.)

1	2	3	4
American Indian	Oriental	Negro	White

***

18. Listed below are a number of things that most young people look forward to. Rank them in order of their importance to you. For the one you think is most important check number 1 in front of it; for the next most important one check number 2, and so on until you have a number checked for each one. Read over the entire list before answering the question. (Check only one number beside each statement and check each different number only once.)

Order of Importance to You							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Having lots of free time to do what I want.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	To develop my mind and get all the education I want.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	To earn as much money as I can.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Getting the job I want most.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Living in the kind of place I like best.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Having the kind of house, car, furniture, and other things like this I want.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	To get married and raise a family.

CHECK YOUR ANSWERS! You should have each number checked only once and a single number should be checked for each statement.

***

25. If you could have as much education as you desired and were completely free to choose, which of the following would you do? (Circle only one number.)

1 Quit high school and never go to school again.
2 Quit high school and take some vocational training for a job.
3 Graduate from high school and never go to school again.
4 Graduate from high school and then complete a business, commercial, nurses training, or some other technical school program.
5 Graduate from a junior college.
6 Graduate from a college or university.

7 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

***

32. How sure are you that you will really achieve the education you expect?

I am: (Circle one number.)

1	2	3	4	5
Very sure	Sure	Not very sure	Uncertain	Very Uncertain